



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

peace-loving, powerful and proud. They are proud of their strength, proud of the sincere conviction that their strength will never be displayed save in a "just" cause. Being but indifferent analysts, they naively believe that "justice" stands forth, seen in like proportions by all observers. Being eager and red-blooded, meditation has not revealed to them the fact that "just" men have cut each others' throats for a thousand and for ten thousand years, devotedly dying for conflicting ideals of "justice." Enwrapped in a serene consciousness of rectitude, they are sure that no impartial tribunal would put into its decrees as much of "righteousness" as would be applied by themselves in unilateral determination of their disputes with others. Does it not then become a *duty* to fight for one's own views of one's own interests, when one knows that he holds to an impeccable standard of right?

But the stern teaching of life has shown that men, as individuals, or when grouped into families, tribes and states, must, if they would have peace, be governed by judgments, rather than by multiform "justice." Until two giants among nations—the British and the American people,—are willing to see the same lesson applied among sovereignties, mankind must wait for a world organization capable of maintaining peace. Meanwhile, the old rule must guide us—keep your powder dry, and keep the magazine under your own control. A harsh conclusion, but I am profoundly convinced that there is none other save that, or the complete non-resistance rule of those who founded the City of Philadelphia, where now we gather under the guaranty of a considerable police-force, backed by an excellent state militia, and by the armies and navies of the United States. An irony of fate, which we, its poor puppets, should not fail to note.

## The Essentials in the League of Nations to a World Organization

By HON. HENRY W. TAFT

New York City

**T**HERE has been a good deal of the futile discussion concerning the advisability of our entering a League which contains Article X. As I interpret the late political expressions in this country, in spite of the fact that I advocated Article X on every occasion that presented itself, that has become an academic inquiry, because this country has pronounced, if it has pronounced anything, in opposition to Article X. Now, Article X became a feature because we were led to suppose that the European nations wished to have Article X inserted in the League. Personally, I believe that we were mis-

informed on that subject and that Article X was initiated by Mr. Wilson and was pressed by him for adoption. Unfortunately, in my judgment, that action on his part resulted in the defeat of the movement for the entry of the United States into the League, and now we have a situation presented where we are to consider whether we shall go into the League or whether we shall form an association, from either of which the idea embodied in Article X is to be eliminated.

I believe that the United States may be of enormous use in this emergency by becoming a party to some kind of

association. Think for a moment of the relatively few things that the League of Nations seeks to accomplish. If Article X is eliminated, what remains? There is Article VIII, which affords a means for the reduction of armament. Then comes Article XII, which provides a means for arbitrating international disputes, with an agreement that neither nation for a period after a determination, will enter into a war. Then there is Article XIII, which has a similar provision in relation to mediation by the Council. Article XIV follows, providing for the establishment of an international court and for the adoption of a code of international law. Finally there is Article XV, which provides for the economic boycott for the enforcement of Articles XII and XIII.

What other essential provision is there in the League? It seems to me that when we have mentioned those subjects we have everything of value for the preservation of peace, except the opportunity, which is of inestimable value, of sitting down around a table and entering into a face-to-face conference or consultation concerning any international dispute. There is nothing radical about that. There is nothing that will offend against the ideas of the gentleman who attempted to assimilate the present arrangement to that which was adopted in 1787, and those things I take it no one in this country would seriously object to. Indeed, Articles XII and XIII, with the stipulation not to go to war, are not very different in effect from the thirty treaties that we have with other nations, which have been designated as the Bryan treaties.

What I believe America wants, is that we shall form some kind of an

association—I do not care whether it be called a league or an association or by any other name—but what we want are those ideas embodied in some kind of an agreement with all the other nations of the world. Personally, I believe that since the machinery of the League is now in operation we would probably find it expedient to become some kind of a qualified member under restrictions or reservations which would preserve us against an invasion of our traditional ideas with reference to international affairs. But whether or not that method of association is adopted, I believe that the American people wish to preserve and carry into practical operation the ideas which are embodied in the articles of the League to which I have referred; and if we get those we have got everything there is of value in the League.

But people will say: "You have not covered the labor article. You have not covered the article for international health. You have not covered some other secondary and subsidiary provisions of the League." True, I have not, but what we are seeking, and the main thing that we are seeking, is some arrangement by which we shall maintain and preserve the peace of the world; and the provisions that I have mentioned are designed to that end, and I hope that America will get into some kind of an association which shall embody as a part of their principles those things, and especially will afford to representatives of this country an opportunity in conference, face to face, to avoid the misunderstandings that always come through diplomatic negotiations conducted secretly and at arms' length.